

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

VOL. I.

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ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNORS OF OHIO AND VIRGINIA.

Gov. Bartley to Gov. McDowell.
EXECUTIVE OFFICE, O.
Columbus, Oct. 11, 1845.

SIR:—Permit me to call your attention to a requisition, presented to your Excellency some two weeks since, for the arrest and delivery to the authorities of Ohio, of Francis Lewis, Wyatt Lewis, James Coe, Nimrod Coe, and Calvin Rockinbaugh, who were indicted in the county of Washington, and State of O., for the crime of kidnapping three white citizens, within the jurisdiction of that State, and forcing them into the State of Virginia.

This act has produced a deep and intense feeling among the people of Ohio. We are extremely anxious to preserve peace and harmony between the States, and we confidently believe that peace and harmony cannot be preserved, unless the authorities of each State will promptly execute the international laws; and thus check any act of violence which the citizens of one State may perpetrate on those of the other.

After a patient hearing of all the testimony adduced, the Grand Jury of Washington county found these five men above named, guilty of the crime charged.

They have fled from this State, and are now in Virginia. Now all we ask of your Excellency is, that national right which the Constitution of the United States, and acts of Congress, guarantee to each State and Territory within the Confederacy; and as it is by this international law, that the union of the States has been, and must still be, preserved, we cannot believe your Excellency will refuse Ohio the right to punish the perpetrators of crime, committed within her jurisdiction. Should these five men be arrested, and delivered to the authorities of Ohio, their rights will be properly regarded. They will have a speedy, fair, and public trial by an impartial jury; and we trust that the citizens of Ohio, who are now imprisoned in Wood county, Virginia, will enjoy the same rights. This course will preclude a recurrence of difficulty between the citizens on each side of the river, and preserve peace and harmony between the States.

Will your Excellency at your earliest convenience, apprise me of the Executive action on the papers referred to.

And be assured I am, Sir, with great respect
Your Excellency's Ob't Servt,
M. BARTLEY.

His Excellency, JAMES McDOWELL,
Governor of Virginia.

Gov. McDowell to Gov. Bartley.
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Richmond Va., Oct. 21 1845.

SIR:—I received on yesterday your letter of the 13th inst., in relation to the requisition which you have recently made on the Executive authority of this State for the arrest and surrender of certain persons who are therein demanded as fugitives from the justice of yours, and I answer it the more promptly as I was in the very act, when receiving it, of advising your Excellency of the present decision of this Department upon the requisition itself. Casual circumstances, together with some delay in ascertaining material facts not in possession of this Department until lately, have prevented me from forming and from making this known to you early a day as I could have wished.

I have now, however, to inform your Excellency that all of the persons named in your requisition—is wit, Francis Lewis, Wyatt Lewis, James Coe, Nimrod Coe and Calvin Rockinbaugh, are at this time under legal process, compelling their attendance as witnesses in a prosecution which is pending before one of our courts against the very persons whom they are, severally, charged in the requisition, with having kidnapped, and are in consequence thereof reserved from surrender by a provision of a law of this State (a copy of which is herewith sent) until they are fully discharged from the process by which they are held.

Whilst I need not say to your Excellency that the obligation on my part, as Executive, to maintain the requirements of our own law in this respect is complete and imperative, I cannot but hope that you will concur with me in opinion upon the reasonableness and necessity of the law itself. It is not peculiar to Virginia, but it is to be found in substance amongst the laws of several of the other states

and in all cases rests upon the same sound and rational principle, that whenever any one is under the claim of law for the purposes of justice, it is wrong to surrender him to any after claim for a similar purpose until the first shall have been satisfied and disposed of.—Take the very case which is before us at present, and a more striking illustration of the truth of the principle or of the value of the law which is founded upon it could scarcely be offered. Were I to deliver up to your Excellency the persons whom you have demanded whilst the trial for an alleged aggression upon the property and rights of citizens of this State, in which those persons are the principal if not the sole witness, is still pending and undetermined,—were I to do this, the investigations and authority of the Court would be stopped—the whole evidence in the case would be taken away, and taken away forever if the persons surrendered should be convicted of felony—the parties implicated acquitted without trial, and thus the purposes of justice effectually defeated through an Executive agency which was meant to protect them. Indeed, the surrender, under existing circumstances, would be, in effect, to endow your Excellency with the double privilege of subjecting certain citizens of Virginia to an ignominious prosecution in Ohio and discharging at the same time certain others of Ohio from a similar prosecution here. Such undoubtedly would be the result of complying, at present, with your Excellency's demand.

Still, however, I am perfectly confident that in making it, and making it now, your Excellency has acted with no design whatsoever of thwarting the course and operation of our laws, but with the single and honorable one of maintaining inviolate the claims of your own.

Acting then in this same spirit of official fidelity, and in conformity with the provision of law before alluded to, I shall decline giving any order at present for the arrest and delivery over of the persons who are named in your Excellency's requisition. Whenever they are discharged from the process before stated, and when the judgment of the Court, in all its bearing upon the persons and principles involved, shall be made known to this Department, it will then have the whole case in its hands, and will be able to proceed at once to a final decision upon it.

Having thus answered your Excellency's requisition, I have now to submit one from this Department upon yours, demanding the surrender of Jos. Romaine, Titus Shotwell, and Burton Stanton, who were indicted in September term of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery for the county of Wood, in this State, begun and held on the first day of the month, upon a charge of feloniously enticing and alluring away, and otherwise aiding in the removal and absconding from the service and possession of their owner, certain slaves the property of a citizen of this State.

This requisition, as your Excellency will perceive, is founded upon an indictment which is prior even to that on which your own has been made, and is otherwise in all constitutional and legal respects precisely the same. I cannot doubt, therefore, but that its validity will be promptly acknowledged, & if no legal obstacle exists, that the necessary measures will be at prompt taken to give it effect. Could I at any moment have doubted this, and have supposed that your Excellency would be unwilling to admit as obligatory upon your own Executive action, the counterpart of the very official instrument which you have presented as obligatory upon mine, that doubt would have been removed in the most ample manner by the very explicit and emphatic positions of your letter. Nothing, indeed, could be stronger upon this point than the emphasis with which your Excellency declares it to be your confident belief, that the peace and harmony of the several States cannot be maintained except through the faithful execution of all international laws by the authorities of each; and that the Union itself depends for its preservation upon the steady enforcement of that federal guarantee which secures to every State, as a part of its sovereignty, the delivery over to its laws of every criminal against them.

This is the doctrine of Virginia—the doctrine, as we believe of patriotism and of the Constitution, and having often maintained it ourselves in the face of opposition, and denial, and rebuff, we cannot be otherwise than pleased at having so powerful an auxiliary as Ohio to assist us in maintaining it for the future.

Gratified as I am at the position on this subject, which you have taken for your young and powerful Commonwealth, and especially at having the benefit of it in advance on the side of the demand which I have herewith made to forward, I am scarcely less so in believing that your own gratification will be fully equal to mine at having so early an opportunity of stamping the doctrines of your letter with the seal of a practical and official confirmation.

In relation to the citizens of Ohio who are now under trial in the county of Wood, and whose situation is specially referred to in your letter, I trust that your Excellency will feel entirely assured that the fair and honorable trial which you invoke for them will certainly be had.

Without extending this communication any farther, I will add only, that whilst I agree with your Excellency in believing that much may be done by a faithful use of Executive authority to restrain the commission of offences between citizens of different States, I am yet satisfied that our solid and effectual reliance for this end is in the private morality of these citizens themselves and in the

prevalence amongst them of a true spirit of justice and respect for the rights of each other. With such a spirit we have a security for public peace immeasurably stronger than everything which law, with all its bonds, imprisonments and fines can afford. Let such a spirit as this be extended to the constitutional and legal rights of the people of Virginia in their slaves—every attempt at the allurement or removal of these slaves from the possession of their owners be given up, and your Excellency need no assurance from me that the kindly relations between Ohio and Virginia are more likely than ever to remain undisturbed and perpetual.

With very great respect, I am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JAS. McDOWELL.

To His Excellency, M. BARTLEY,
Governor of Ohio.

(Gov. Bartley to Gov. McDowell.)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, O.

Columbus, Nov. 3d, 1845.

SIR:—I had the honor to receive a few days since your Excellency's communication of the 21st ult., in reply to my letter of the 13th ult. Six weeks previous to the receipt of this communication, a requisition from this office in due form, was presented to your Excellency, for the arrest and delivery to the authorities of Ohio, of Francis Lewis, Wyatt Lewis, James Coe, Nimrod Coe, and Calvin Rockinbaugh, against whom indictments were returned, in the county of Washington, and state of Ohio, for the atrocious crime of kidnapping three citizens of Ohio. Your communication contains the first information furnished, as to my action on the part of your excellency, on the subject of the requisition from this office.

As the crime on which the demand for the arrest was predicated, is one of no ordinary magnitude, and as the execution of criminal justice always requires promptness, you will allow me to express to you my regret, that circumstances should have arisen, to occasion so much delay in your action.

I learn with no small degree of surprise, the determination which you have made on the subject of the requisition. You have, as appears, deferred your final decision, until some future period, and declined, at the present, issuing a warrant for the arrest. You say in your communication, after speaking of the delay in your action, "we have now, however, the necessary documents, and the persons named in your requisition, are at this time, (that is, at the date of your letter,) under legal process, compelling their attendance as witnesses, in a prosecution,"

Your statement leaves ground for the inference, that after it had become known, in Virginia, that a requisition had been presented to you, and during the delay which occurred, between the time of making the demand upon you, and the date of your letter, the legal process spoken of had been served on the persons whose arrest was required.

If the persons had been under legal process at the time the demand for the arrest had been made, it is to be presumed the fact would have been so stated.

Permit me further to say to your Excellency, that the reasons assigned for your declining to issue the warrant for the arrest, at present, and deferring your final decision on the application; until a future period, are, to my mind, very unsatisfactory.

Why defer your final decision upon the merits of the application, and determine to take the matter up for consideration, only after the persons whose arrest is demanded, shall have been discharged from legal process as witnesses?

What bearing the judgment of a criminal court in Virginia, can have on the prosecution of other persons, upon a different charge, in enabling you to form a more correct decision upon the pending requisition, is wholly beyond my comprehension;

and the delay incident to this course, would afford an opportunity to the persons whose arrest is sought to make their escape; an event, I doubt not, which your Excellency would much regret.

But the provisions of the law of Virginia,

which you furnish, and give as the ground on which you base your refusal to issue a warrant, are not applicable to the case.

By the provision of that law, the exemption from arrest, upon the requisition of the Executive of another State, is confined to "persons under prosecution for treason, felony or other crime, alleged to have been committed in Virginia, and to persons in custody upon any execution or upon any writ or process."

You do not claim that the persons whose arrest I have demanded, are "in custody" upon any process.

To be in custody, the person of an individual must be in the keeping, and under confinement by an officer entrusted with some legal process, authorizing the imprisonment.

According to no rational or legitimate construction of a law, can a person under a mere summons or subpoena, to appear in a case as a witness, be regarded as "in custody."

This law, therefore, does not appear to me to be applicable to the case, inasmuch as, from your own statement, these persons are only under a mere process of a subpoena, as a witness, and not "in custody," upon any process, or under any criminal prosecution,

in Virginia.

The requisition which I have made upon you, for the arrest of the persons named, was made in strict conformity to the provisions of a law of Congress, of the 12th February, 1793,

but under the authority of the second clause of the second section of the 4th article of the Constitution of the United States, which is in the words following, to wit: "A person

charged, in any State, with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime."

This provision of the constitution is imperative. "On demand," the fugitive from justice shall be given up. The Constitution is subject to no qualification or condition, and is paramount to any mere act, passed by the Legislature of any one of the states.

It appears evident to me, that good faith towards the national compact, requires the faithful observance of, and strict obedience to, the high injunctions of the United States.

If the Legislature of one of the States has the power to pass a law, annexing conditions or qualifications to an imperative provision of the Constitution of the United States; or if the chief executive magistrate, from considerations of local expediency, has the power to evade a compliance with the imperious injunctions of that constitution, then, that sacred charter of our national liberty will be a mere rope of sand, and cease longer to be any protection to the respective rights of the States of the Union.

The law of Congress, of the 12th February, 1793, points out the mode of making the demand for the surrender of fugitives from justice. Under this law, it is provided, that, whenever the executive authority of a State in the Union, shall demand any person as a fugitive from justice, and produce a copy of an indictment, or an affidavit, made before a magistrate, preferring the charge, &c., "it shall be the duty of the executive authority of the State to which such person shall have fled, to cause him or her to be arrested and delivered over, &c."

Neither the Constitution of the United States, nor this law of Congress, will admit of the construction, that the surrender is not to be made, in case the fugitive is under the mere process of a subpoena, to appear in a case as a witness in court.

The paramount objects of our national union, and the preservation of the friendly relations, the peace and harmony of the several states, are certainly not to yield, or be made secondary to a mere suit, pending in a local court. If such a construction should be given, to this provision of the Constitution, it would render it almost a nullity; and, whenever an offender should learn, that a requisition was about to be made for his surrender and punishment, for a criminal depredation, perpetrated upon the person and property of an adjacent State, all he would have to do, would be to get some of his friends or accomplices, to serve upon him a process to appear, as a witness, in some proceeding pending in a local court, and thus defeat the purpose of justice.

In the case now under consideration, in carrying out the provisions of the international law, and thereby preserving the friendly relations between the States, there is no occasion, as I apprehend, to interfere with the proceedings, which you mention, in the criminal court of Virginia. The persons whose arrest and surrender is demanded, can, by means of giving bail for their appearance, to answer to the criminal charge in Ohio, be used as witnesses in the court of Virginia, and the fact of their testimony being necessary, for the purposes of justice, (if such be the case,) in a criminal court of Virginia, would be just cause for continuing the trial in Ohio, until the proceedings in Virginia be disposed of. A friendly and amicable disposition on the part of the authorities of each state, would certainly enable us to subserve in the most ample manner, all the purposes of justice, without doing violence to the provisions of our international law.

During the period at which the difficulties alluded to, have existed, between some of the citizens of Ohio, and some of those of Virginia, the public authorities in Ohio have taken special care, and that too with success, to maintain an amicable and correct course on the part of the citizens of Ohio. Our citizens have been assured that they would find ample justice in the judicial tribunals of Virginia, and speedy redress of their wrongs.

The act perpetrated by the citizens of Virginia, whose arrest and surrender is demanded, was a high-handed outrage, calculated to lead to great popular excitement.

It appears from the testimony received at this office, that the design of the negroes to leave their masters and cross the Ohio river at the very time they did, was known in the neighborhood where the slaves resided for several days previous, and this information was communicated to the citizens on the Ohio shore by Virginians for the purpose of exciting their curiosity; else, why did they not arrest the slaves on the Virginia shore?

Thus excited by the citizens of Virginia,

and to the bitterest curse—look there,

misery and madness struggling for supremacy—and cold, certain death, the sole arbiter

and giver of rest! Tell us now, the untaught

impulse of the heart of man, is not this

worse than death in the battle field?

Go see the "cat o' nine" buried in the flesh of the unprivileged slave—see his ashy shrivelled

form—his rigs—his foul and comfortless hut

—tear him from his home—blot out from his

eye the loved images of his wife, children

and friends—and who are the men who do

this thing? Every citizen who by his vote

allows the vilest wretch to do the deed with impunity!

But the citizen was born to it—

love of wealth, pleasure and pride have

surpassed the place of unbought conscience;

many palliatives come to his help—and if

conscience awakes, heaven help us—there is

a great and merciful and omnipotent God,

who can purify the most deep stained soul,

and upon repentance make the tortured spirit

happy once more!

But who and how shall we a's that man

who knocks to a under our to ring and

wear

would not scruple to murder our mother for a meal of vittuals—or to scatter the desecrated remains of a dead sister, or father, or wife, to manure our encumber vines! We thank God that instinct is stronger than reasoning, and conscience more powerful than argument. We do most sincerely believe, and we deliberately weigh what we say, that all the books and papers which have been written to prove slavery a divine institution, have never convinced a single man or woman that it was right—not one! We have not read the argument above referred to—it is too short for a man to read a discourse to prove that a man may not murder his father, or sell his country for gold, or enslave his fellow man! If then we will not and cannot read the argument of our noble friend, 'A Virginian,' in defence of the right, what shall we say of the God defying defender of the wrong? We promised to give the "Alabama Preacher" and his class a round, when we got *cool*: we now postpone it forever; for until this miserable and dying being of ours becomes yet most deserving of all the ills that flesh is heir to, we never can associate in our mind Religion and Slavery without the most unqualified loathing and hot indignation!—C. M. Clay's *True American*.

COMMUNICATIONS.

FRIENDS EDITORS:

In the Bugle of the 19th inst., is an article written by my friend B. B. Davis, which seems to demand some reply from me; and which I hasten to notice, believing that a candid interchange of views relative to the subject of his communication, cannot but be beneficial to all parties concerned.

In the communication to Salem Monthly Meeting, published in your paper of the 12th inst., and to which my friend B. B. Davis seems to have some objections, it is stated that "the Society of Friends professes to be a Christian body—that it professes to keep itself such, by dealing with those of its members who are guilty of immoral or unchristian conduct."—In regard to this matter I suppose there can be no difference of opinion among those who know anything directly of the professions of the Society, whatever conclusions may be drawn by those who judge of these professions by its practices merely.

In the Discipline of the Society of Friends of Ohio, as revised and printed by direction of the Yearly Meeting in 1842, it is declared that the great head of the church has been pleased to gather Friends as a people to himself, and to inspire them with a degree of the same universal love and good will by which was ushered in the dispensation of the Gospel. Declarations of the same nature abound throughout the discipline, and so far as that instrument is to be received as an exposition of the principles professed by the Society, (and I know not where else we are to look for such exposition) the Society makes the very highest pretensions to Christianity.—Furthermore, if any member acts in a manner unworthy of this profession, it is declared to be "the indispensable duty" of the Society to treat with him without delay, and if he fails to give evidence of repentance, to disown him. But it is useless to multiply words here. No one who has read the discipline of the Society or other writings approved by Friends, or listened to the testimony of their recommended ministers, can be in doubt for a moment relative to this matter.

My friend B. B. D. calls himself a member of Society. He stands committed in favor of these principles and regulations before Friends, and the world. In his own heart he either does, or does not adopt them. He either does, or does not believe it right for the Society to make these high professions and its "indispensable duty" to carry them out, by disowning delinquent members and in other particulars. If he believes it the duty of the church to act upon these principles and if the church refuses to act thus, it must according to his own arguments be his "indispensable duty" to disown the church; as every argument used in the discipline, or which can be used to justify the Society for the disownment of delinquent members will go as far, and I believe farther to justify individuals who are true to principle, in disowning a delinquent church.

If on the other hand he rejects these principles of the Society, as being incorrect, he appears to the world what he is not—deceives the Society, and stands condemned by the discipline; which declares that there is imposition "on the part of those who (as is sometimes the case) insist on being retained as members while at variance with Friends either in principle or practice!" These seem, then, no course for my friend to pursue, but to join himself to what he pleasantly terms the "new Comeouter Society," unless he is prepared to take the position and maintain it, that the Society of Friends does act in a manner worthy of its high Christian professions. This position he will not attempt to establish, for two reasons. The one is that he is well acquainted with the position occupied by the Society for several years past, towards questions of reform. The other is that he is an honest man.

My friend is well aware that most of the meeting houses belonging to Friends have been closed against Anti-Slavery and Temperance meetings—that thousands of its members support slavery, by voting for slaveholders, upholding a pro-slavery Government and in other particulars—that many, perhaps a majority of the recommended ministers of the Society, as well as many of its other members are using their whole influence against the Anti-Slavery movement, and yet retain their standing in the Church; and that members have from time to time been disowned, wholly on account of their consistent Anti-Slavery character and action. Could such things be, if the Society carried out in practice its Christian professions? Can that be justly considered a Christian Society, which, while it professes to recommend none to the ministry, except such as are divinely appointed, not speak by immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, yet retains in the ministry persons who are active and bitter in their opposition to the cause of the slave, and declares in its Quarterly and Yearly meetings, that it believes such are "careful in the exercise of their gifts to wait for divine ability?"

Can the body which hurls from its connection such persons as I. T. Hopper and his associates, wholly on account of their efforts in behalf of bleeding humanity, be justly looked upon as occupying the high moral and religious station claimed by the Society of Friends? But one answer can be given by any friend of truth to these questions.

I know it is sometimes asserted that Friends of Ohio and other places, have nothing to do with the action of Friends in New York. This is a mistake. I. T. Hopper was disowned not merely by Rose street Monthly Meeting, nor by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings of that place which sanctioned its proceedings, but by the Society of Friends; not one meeting in unity and correspondence with New York, having ever, so far as I am informed, breathed a whisper in disapproval of this high-handed outrage.

Such then, is the position occupied by the Society from which I have thought it my duty to disconnect myself, and to which friend B. B. D. still adheres. Though I believe that after a careful examination of the subject he will agree with me that he cannot sustain his present relation to this body, without in some measure at least, sanctioning its pro-slavery character—without being, as far as this connection is concerned, the "supporter of Slavery—the enemy of the Slave."

B. B. Davis is of opinion that my principles, if carried out, would require that I should come out from the Anti-Slavery and Temperance Societies as well as that of Friends.—If he succeeds in establishing this view of the subject, it will, it seems to me, have little to do with the matter in question, as it is not at all likely the discovery that I am already involved in guilt, owing to my connection with two Societies, many of whose members are corrupt, would induce me to connect myself with a third, of the same, or a worse character, and thus add to my guilt.—Principle, it seems to me, would require that I should leave the former, rather than join the latter.

But I do not admit nor believe, that the arguments used to show the duty of disclaiming the Society of Friends will apply to the same extent, or to any extent, to the members of the Anti-slavery & Temperance Societies, for the reason that these associations are in several essential particulars different from that Society. Every person who subscribes to the Constitution of the A. A. S. Society is a member of that association.—Individuals of all classes, and of every character and condition, meet together on its platform to labor for the overthrow of slavery. That Society has no power nor does it claim the right, or hold it a duty, to disown any member under any circumstances. All, who wish to do so, meet upon that platform—compare views with each other—unite, so far as they can agree, in the carrying out of measures for the promotion of the Anti-Slavery cause, and where differences of opinion arise, or a course of conduct is pursued by some which others disapprove, neither party is responsible for the doings of the other, any more than one individual is chargeable with the wrong done by another, from the fact that both live in the same village or neighborhood. The same may be said of the Temperance organizations. Every one can see at a glance the wide distinction existing between associations of this character, and the Society of Friends and most other religious bodies, which are disciplinary, and profess to shut out from their connection all who do not sustain a Christian character.

It is evident therefore that what my friend says about members of A. S. Societies using the products of slave labor, voting for slaveholders, &c., though it may have an effect to induce these members to examine the ground wherein they stand, cannot by any means be made to prove it the duty of any to come out of these Societies, whose members as before

shown are not responsible for the actions of each other.

I will now very briefly answer, so far as I am able, the several interrogatories at the conclusion of B. B. D.'s communication.

The first question I answer in the affirmative. To the 2nd I answer, we should use the best means which are strictly moral—3rd there are. 4th. To the first part of this inquiry I reply that I have been a member of an association in which it is in order to agitate all questions, no matter of what character. This association is, however, small. It was established a few months ago in Salem. To the latter part of the query I answer, that I have endeavored to exert an influence upon the members of the Society of Friends, though I have not taken part in the discussions of its meetings.

5th. This depends upon the character of the organization. If it is disciplinary, and adopts as one of its cardinal principles, that it is the "indispensable duty" of the body to disown those of its members who do not act "in a manner becoming their profession," it is the duty of those who are true to principle to disown those who are not, no matter which is the stronger party. If on the other hand the association is similar to the O. A. A. S. Society, then those who are true are not implicated in the guilt of those who are false. 6th. It would not. 7th. No. 8th. This I cannot answer; I think probably it would not continue for any great length of time. 9th. Some members of that Society abstain from the proceeds of slave labor to a great extent. A majority I presume do not; some members who use these products consider themselves inconsistent in doing so, others do not. 10th. This I cannot answer. 11th. It is not. 12th. It does. In proof of this I refer my friend to the action of the Society in New York, towards I. T. Hopper and others; and to the action of Indiana Yearly meeting towards New York, having ever, so far as I am informed, breathed a whisper in disapproval of this Friends of Green Plain.

J. BARNABY, JR.

RESPECTED FRIENDS:

In looking over the Bugle a few days ago, I was very forcibly struck with an article from the pen of John B. Wolf, taken, I think, from the "Western Christian Advocate," and it occurs to me just now, that a word in relation to some things contained in it, might not be out of place; and I also wish, to call attention to some further developments of his real character, that from them, the people may see, what this class of persons (the Priests) are, and what they are doing; but, I would observe here, that from all I can learn of the man, I conclude that he is a tool in the hands of Elisha Bates; comes at his call, and barks at his bidding—and I will further add, that no other than a Priest, or the willing tool of a Priest, could be guilty of placing before the public an article so notoriously false, and slanderous, in its character, as the one alluded to. In the first place he professes to have a perfect knowledge of the motives, which impel our friends to pursue the course they are taking, and tells us that it is the establishment of the principles of infidelity. Merely calling the reader's attention to this, is sufficient; all will see the Priestly assumption at a glance. He says "he asked some questions when at the Convention at this place," but he says nothing of the manner of doing it, or, of the professions he made to the audience. Those questions were asked out of pure regard for the cause in which we were engaged (so he said) "and much depends on the answer you give to them. It is for the benefit of the audience, of the speakers, and of the cause, that I ask them, there is a great deal behind them" &c. And yet, he dented in the same meeting the correctness of the foundation principle of the Anti-Slavery enterprise; that is, that it is wrong under all circumstances to hold slaves; hence, he must be viewed as an advocate of Slavery; an advocate of man holding his fellow man as property. This also, only requires to have the attention directed to it in order to exhibit the baseness and hypocrisy of the man. But I must not dwell longer on this, I wish as I said in the commencement, to call attention to other developments of the real character of this Priest, John B. Wolf.

On the evening of the 14th of last month, a meeting was held some three or four miles west of Mt. Pleasant, to examine the propriety of holding temperance meetings on the Sabbath day. At an early hour, the house was well filled, and among the number present was John B. Wolf. The ordinary formalities of organizing were over when I arrived. But I very shortly discovered that something more was to be done. Arrangements were being made to select speakers. This last, was evidently the work of friend Wolf, as after movements clearly proved. I took occasion to suggest that any person present wishing to speak on the question under consideration be left to liberty to do so. At this friend W. arose and said he would oppose any movement of the kind, the audience had come there to hear men of influence and

intelligence speak, and must not be disappointed. "The proposition" he said, "involved the discussion of another question, that of the natural rights of man, altogether extraneous to the one we came to discuss." There was something more said, not now recollect, he, however, took upon himself the entire control of the meeting. Eight persons were named who might, if they wished, have privilege of speaking, but all others were prohibited. One who dared to think only as his Priest dictated, asserted in his remarks, that the real question lay back of the one proposed here for discussion. "It is" says he "Is the Sabbath a Christian institution?" He attempted to show it to be such a one, and as none appeared to be dissatisfied with it being made the question, he demanded that we should come to it. I arose and inquired of the audience which one of the questions I should discuss, as it had been said that the one of holding temperance meetings on the Sabbath was not the one we came to examine; some one made answer—both. I then proceeded to show the necessity of doing good on all days; and from that, and the fact that the Sabbath is not a Christian institution; that the introduction of the Christian dispensation abrogated the Jewish Sabbath and did not establish any other—that Christ, his Apostles, nor yet the early Christians ever observed any particular day as the Priests of the present day would have us do. It was said by another that the Church and State were the only institutions recognized in the Bible, and we had no right to form others.

In reply, it was shown that if this doctrine was adhered to, no reformation could ever be accomplished in either, for the Church would excommunicate, and the State put to death those of their members who attempt to reform them. The utterance of these facts, was more than the pious Priest could bear; (and by the way, all that was said by myself in relation to the Sabbath was proven from their own authority, the Old and New Testaments and the standard Church histories.) He imposed himself in the meeting for nearly half an hour, for the purpose of abusing myself and others; said we belonged to a Society whose object was to destroy the Marriage relation, bring about Agrarianism, that we had introduced our Community principles there by proposing that all be at liberty to speak who desired &c. He also stated that I had left the question and taken up another, the Christian Sabbath—and when asked who it was that first introduced it, replied emphatically "didn't I tell you what the question was, and what right had you to pay any attention to what they said?" thus, again, placing himself in the position of the whole meeting, or rather assuming to be the meeting.

It would occupy too much space to give all the particulars, but from those given all who are not blind must see the necessity of ceasing to sustain a lying and tyrannical priesthood. They are always in the way of every reform that is started. The Rev. John B. Wolf could charge others whom he knew were laboring to reform the drunkard and break the chain of the Slave, with striving to destroy the marriage relation, while he himself represents a body, that has already abrogated that sacred institution in the case of one sixth of the American people. If abolitionists do not get the Priests converted to truth and righteousness, they had as well give over striving for the relief of the Slave from his chains.

Yours for the right.
CARVER TOMLINSON.
Mt. Pleasant, Dec. 10th, 1845.

Thanks to the friend who furnished us with a copy of the following letter; it will doubtless be read with much interest.—[Eds.]
"New Lyme, Asht. Co., O., 15th Nov. 1845.

Dear Brother,
You know the Free Will Baptists of this place, were set *all on fire* because Mr. Foster and Miss Kelley, slandered them so, in proving them to be pro-slavery.

They even went so far as to excommunicate some of their worthy members, (who, they were sure, would leave them) for the same reason that they "gnashed their teeth" no Mr. F. & Miss K.

Might not one, reasonably expect such thorough-going Abolitionists, as these Free Will Baptists, would sit *most patiently*, under an Anti-Slavery lecture, though it were delivered in a house devoted to *Religious Worship*?

Well, last Sunday evening, I gave them an opportunity of proving that they had been slandered, by those Anti-Slavery Lecturers and these excommunicated church-members, and that it was not without reason they were so exasperated against them.

After listening to a sermon from Elder Yates, in which he endeavored to prove that the body as well as the soul, would go to Heaven—that the judgment day was the day for which all others was made—that the Saints would smile and triumph over the last con-

flagration, when the Earth, and with it, the wicked inhabitants should be consumed in the flames, &c., &c.—I say, after listening to a sermon which ran after this sort, I took advantage of "opportunity given for any one to speak," but had said but few words—barely informed them that "proposed to call their attention to another subject, their duty to God their Father and man their brother, in which they had a more immediate interest than the one to which they had been giving their attention"—when the Elder with a commanding voice, said; "Sit down" "Sit down!!" "Sit down!!" "It's my meeting."

I remarked that I chose not to relinquish the opportunity given and proceeded.

Thereupon the Elder commenced singing "praises to God" in order to drown my voice and thus break me down. His pious Anti-Slavery brethren joined in with him and sang ("in the Spirit" no doubt) until they were tired of it.

Meantime, I continued speaking—spoke slow and loud so as to enable those not engaged in Religious Worship, to hear. I made use of this circumstance, the spirit manifested towards me, to convince them that these professed christians were "of the Devil."

Well they soon became weary of "making melody unto the Lord" and so changed the order of worship. Two of their leading, most *devotional* brethren made towards me with firm step, (Courageous men!! What Christian fortitude!!) and with hearts all filled to overflowing with the spirit of their Master, laid violent hands on me and thrust me out into the street.

As soon as freed from their grasp I returned to the "House of God" and again commenced speaking—was dragged out the second time by the same pious Christians—the second time returned and remained un molested.

The elder thought it best not longer to continue the unequal combat, and so unmercifully left the house without singing, prayer, or the benediction.

The sisters and most of the brethren followed, leaving me to close the meeting in my own way.

You would naturally suppose but a bustle as was produced by this "drag out" would seriously alarm the female portion of the assembly, but so far from it, some of them were a good deal elated, as they *e* aced by their *indelicate grins* as they passed me on their way out.

They probably had seen the like before, for they believe in fighting, for what they call their "religious rights."

I will just say, in justice to some of their members, who disapprove of branching the subject of Slavery in a religious meeting, that they disapproved of the "drag out" on the ground that it would make talk and give them a bad name abroad.

One of the sisters too, wife of the leader in the attack upon my person, "Wouldn't have had it done for Ten Dollars," for the reason as her husband said in reply, "O you're afraid it'll hurt my business, that's all you care for it."

I did intend giving you before now an account of the manner Mr. Foster used up Elder Dunn—that "Angel" as some of his F. W. Baptist sisters call him, but I've waited so long I'll defer it till I see you, which I hope will be soon. Yours truly,

HENRY H. HATCH.

A. M. HATCH.

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

SALIN DECEMBER, 30, 1845.

"I love agitation when there is cause for it—the alarm bell which startles the inhabitants of a city, saves them from being burned in their beds."—Edmund Burke.

Persons having business connected with the paper, will please call on James Barnaby, corner of Main and Chestnut sts.

MARRIED,

In New Brighton, Pa. on the 21st. inst. at the house of Milo A. Townsend, Stephen S. Foster of New Hampshire, to Abby Kelley of Massachusetts.

TO OUR FRIENDS ON THE RESERVE.

Stephen S. and Abby Kelley Foster, after visiting a few towns in Western Pa. designed holding a series of meetings on the Western Reserve. Those persons of the latter place who desire meetings in their respective neighborhoods, and can procure suitable places, and accommodation, will please send information (particulars) to the Editors of this paper. It is desirable to hear from the friends as soon as possible, so that such arrangements may be made as time will allow, and the interests of the cause would demand.

Carver Tomlinson is hereby informed that we can supply him with the books for which he wrote. We have been waiting for an opportunity to forward them, but none has offered.

THE LAND QUESTION.

The Editor of "The Friend of Man," is not satisfied with our answer to his query in relation to the distribution of Public Lands, and thinks that we might have replied in an article but little longer than the one in which we gave our reasons for declining so to do. It is true we might have said yes or no, or yes and no, as we told him the editors differed with each other on this subject. Many questions might be asked, to which we could reply in a single line; but rather than do so, rather than connect, or seem to connect any extraneous topics with the Anti-Slavery question, we would prefer giving in an article of twenty lines, our reasons for not replying. We do not feel bound to answer every question proposed, although the propounder may think it intimately connected with the system of slavery, if we do not, that is sufficient reason why we should decline discussing it in an Anti Slavery paper. We have heard some contend, and with much plausibility, that if we convert the slaveholders to Grahamism slavery would soon cease, but that is no reason—so long as we think otherwise why our editorial columns should be occupied with disquisitions on Dietetics.

Others contend, both opposers and approvers of the system, that the Bible is the foundation of Am. Slavery; we think otherwise, and therefore do not enter into the merits of this question. Friend Hinckley seems to think that the Land Monopoly, is the principle upon which it rests, (although, we do not see, by the way, that the mere question as to whether actual settlers should possess the Public Lands has any direct bearing on the principle of Land Monopoly) if so, we do not concur with him, and cannot pursue the same course, which he must feel it his duty to pursue, for each and all must act in conformity with their perceptions of truth, of duty, of right and wrong, of cause and effect.

His remark that our excuse "comes with either an ill-grace from a paper that has had the independence (he it said to its credit,) to speak out on so many and various occasions, against the corruptions of the American clergy and churches, and other popular institutions of the day" is inappropriate, and the compliment the sentence contains altogether misplaced; at least, we were not aware that we had spoken against the corruptions of the Am. church and clergy in other particulars than their pro-slavery position, unless perchance by way of illustration, or by way of confirming what was said in regard to slavery.

If the Land Monopoly were wrong, and the recognition of every man's equal right to the soil would abolish slavery, still this would not be the first question to discuss, but one of secondary consideration.

If the Bible doctrine of Non-Resistance be true, and the abrogation of physical violence as applied to man would destroy slavery, still this question lies back of another which must be previously discussed.

We will briefly state our reasons for adopting these positions, which may appear inconsistent to some. No man regards his horse as equally entitled with himself to a share of God's earth, at least we never heard any Anti-Land Monopolist contend for such doctrine; and in our intercourse with Non-Resistants we have never met with one who did not deem it perfectly right to use such physical force as was needed to compel submission from the animals over which he chose to exercise dominion. The slave of the South sustains the same relation to his master as the horse, and other animals to the Anti-Land Monopolist and Non-Resistant he is "one who is in the power of his master to whom he belongs,"—"a chattel personal to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatsoever," consequently we cannot establish the slave's right to land, until his right to himself is recognized—he cannot be exempted from physical violence, until he is clothed with humanity, even though Non-Resistance should prevail. We cannot see then that the case of the slave would be reached by a discussion of either of these questions, until his humanity, and his inalienable right to liberty are established. Some of our Non-Resistant friends, and opponents of Land Monopoly, overlook these facts, and see the subject in a different light from that in which we regard it. This will account for the following resolutions which were adopted at what the editor of "The Friend of Man," calls an anti slavery meeting.

Resolved, That we believe Slavery is not confined exclusively to the Southern portion of this Union, but that it is a part of every government of the world. *Resolved*, That to successfully abolish all systems of Slavery, it is necessary to abolish the present system of Government LAND MONOPOLY, for mankind can never be free while he has to ask permission of a lordly Land Aristocrat to work for bread to keep himself and family from starving.

Resolved, That universal liberty consists in the undoing of all unequal burdens—the abandonment of all tyranny and oppression, and not the mere abolition of Southern Negro Slavery.

We feel it our duty at the present time to discuss the question of chattelism; and when we see the slave within the pale of a common brotherhood, that will be a proper time to contend for other rights which are based upon his right to himself.

TEXAS.

The Resolutions declaring Texas to be one of the United States, were before the House of Representatives for discussion, or adoption rather, on the 16th inst. A motion to lay them on the table was negatived by a vote of 112 to 52. The previous question having been moved and carried, the question was taken on their engrossment and third reading.—Yea 141; nays 52. The question then recurring to the passage of the resolutions, the correspondent of the Tribune says,

"Mr. Rockwell of Massachusetts proceeded in a very able and eloquent speech, pointing out the objections to the resolutions. The conclusion of his speech was very fine. His vindication of Massachusetts and his tribute to John Quincy Adams were beautiful and powerful. He showed that the Constitution of Texas now before the House was in direct violation of the Joint Resolution for the Annexation of Texas.

The Annexation Resolutions provided that in certain part of Texas, Slavery should not be permitted. The Constitution of the State of Texas guaranteed Slavery in the whole of Texas. He concluded by moving that the Constitution of Texas be re-committed to the Committee on Territories, with instructions to introduce a proviso that Slavery, except for crime, be excluded from the new State.

Here a scene of confusion which is totally undescribable followed. The majority refused to let any one proceed. They vigorously applied the gag. On the same decision they voted to sustain the Chair by 92 to 77, and immediately afterwards voted not to sustain by a vote of 93 to 93. The Yea and Nays were called for on the final passage of the Resolutions, and resulted in, Yea 141, Nays 56.

An attempt was made to bring them before the Senate on the 18th, but failed, as it required the unanimous consent of the members to introduce them at that time, which was not given. When they do come up, there is no question but the Senatorial vote will tell for Slavery and Texas.

SIGNIFICANT.
Some of our friends in Eastern Pa. became tired of laboring in the A. S. Society—it was a heavy, up-hill kind of business, and fit only for slaveholding souls in which faith and hope are strong, and so they organized a political party—the Liberty party as they called it. A much less odious name is Liberty in the ears of American Democrats, than that harsh grating compound, anti-slavery. They proposed voting slavery down, and some in league with them were so rash as to avow that if voting did not do it, they would pull off the political sheath and present the naked bayonet. We judge however from a recent advertisement in the American Citizen under the head of "Christmas Fair," that their adopted name has not answered their expectations, as they have hunted up the old discarded title to use as a prefix, and inform the world that said Fair is for the benefit of the "Anti-Slavery Liberty Party."

THE PRESS IN GERMANY.

To show the sort of "Liberty of the press" enjoyed in Berlin, it is stated in a recent French paper, that a celebrated advocate, a man of profound legal learning and spotless reputation, has been condemned to four months imprisonment and a fine of four hundred dollars, for the crime and misdemeanor of writing an article in a periodical work, recommending the opening of the Courts, and the public administration of justice! But there is another case which really outstrips it.—A newspaper, with a circulation of 5000, producing a large income to its proprietors, has been suppressed by the government, on the ground that its writers gave the censors too much trouble in correcting their articles!—Philadelphia Pennsylvanian.

THE PRESS IN AMERICA.

To show the sort of "Liberty of the press" enjoyed in America, it is stated upon good authority, that a celebrated editor, a man of clear moral perception and spotless reputation, was condemned to pay a fine of one hundred dollars and suffer imprisonment in Baltimore jail until the sum was paid, for the crime and misdemeanor of writing articles in a periodical work, recommending the breaking of the bondman's fetters, and the strict administration of justice! But there is another case which really outstrips it. A newspaper, with a circulation of nearly 4000, established at a heavy expense to its proprietors, was suppressed by mobocratic power, on the ground, that its writers gave the mobocrats too much unceasiness in making their practices public, and it was too much trouble for them to correct their villainous deeds.—Though government did not directly engage in this act, yet it stood by as a consenting witness!

When other facts are stated in regard to the German Press, we will furnish a parallel to each from the history of the Press in America.

For the Anti-Slavery Bugle. OHIO LEGISLATURE.

Monday Dec. 15/4.—In the SENATE, the usual variety of petitions was presented, some for the erection of new counties and some against it; one from the citizens of Richland Co. for the promotion of Agriculture; one from 256 citizens of Medina Co. for an act suppressing houses of ill fame, and more adequately to punish the crime of seduction; one from 318 citizens of Geauga Co. for a law to punish more effectively seduction and other crimes. Committee on Judiciary reported that it would be unconstitutional to pass a law rendering Ministers of the Gospel ineligible to elective civil offices, as had been asked for in the memorial of the Rev. George Denison—the Committee was discharged from a further consideration of the subject.—Same Committee reported adversely to creating the office of Attorney General, and abolishing that of Prosecuting Attorney. Several other reports were made by that and other Standing and Select Committees.

Petitions were presented in the HOUSE, on the all engrossing subject of new counties; one for the creation of a State Board of Agriculture; one for an improvement in the Common School Laws; and one from 50 women of Ashtabula Co. asking for an amendment of the law as to exempt the real and personal property of females, from execution on debts of their husbands, and to give to females the entire control of their property; all of which were appropriately referred.

The following preamble and resolutions were read and laid on the table.

Whereas, the practice of corporal punishment is inflicted on American citizens employed in the service of the army and navy of the United States, and in some instances, it is feared, such punishment is inflicted to gratify the malice of some officers whose displeasure they have incurred, therefore

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that our Senators in Congress instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their endeavors to so alter the law regulating the army and navy which authorizes a practice so repugnant to humanity, civilization and republicanism.

Resolved, that the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the above preamble and resolutions, to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The Committee on Finance made the following report.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, That it is expedient to provide by law for valuation at its true value in money, of such real property in the State, as shall not be expressly exempted therefrom, to be reported to the Governor on or before the 15th day of November next, for levying a tax upon part of the property in the State which is exempt from taxation under existing laws, and for a more effective administration of the laws now in force, for levying taxes, according to their true intent and meaning.

Mr. REEMLIN moved to amend by adding the following resolutions, remarking that he did not suppose they would be accepted:

Resolved, That it would be inexpedient and unjust, to increase in any wise, the taxes resting upon real estate.

Resolved, That those portions of the tax laws, passed at the last session of the Legislature, which tax labor, and compel our merchants and manufacturers to give under oath, an *expose* of their private affairs, should be repealed, and provisions substituted, which, by a proper selection of assessors for the different branches of commerce, will subject, for all useful purposes of fair and equal taxation, the capital of our merchants and manufacturers, to its just share of the public burthen, and that the other provisions of said law be thoroughly revised, so as to make them operate with more equality.

Resolved, That the capital of banks, public and private, should be placed upon the tax duplicate in each county where they are located, and that the amount of taxes thus received into the State Treasury, should be specially set apart and applied towards the payment of the funded debt of the State.

Resolved, That an income tax should be levied upon the income of Attorneys at Law, upon Physicians and upon the Salaries of the officers of Corporations, equal, at least, to 5 per cent, upon the amount of income or salary, over and above the sum of \$200 per annum.

December 16th.—In the SENATE petitions were presented for the abolition of capital punishment; for the promotion of agriculture; for the protection of the property of married women, for preserving the inviolability of burying grounds, for a repeal of the Black Laws &c., which were appropriately referred. The Committee on Common Schools, to whom was referred the memorial of L. A. Hine; praying a repeal of all laws on the subject of Common Schools, reported that, in the opinion of the committee, the granting of the prayer of the petitioners would be inexpedient.

The following resolution was agreed to:

Resolved, That the standing committee on Common Schools and School Lands be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the law for the support and better regulation of Common Schools now in force, as to prohibit Directors from employing any person as a teacher in said district, without first obtaining the consent of a majority of the householders in said district; and in all cases where a teacher shall be employed, it shall be the duty of the Directors for the time being, to give notice to each householder in said district, that such person has been employed, and the time when such school will be commenced.

After the reception and reference of petitions, the House went into a Committee of the Whole for the consideration of several Bills, among which was one from the Senate for the more effectual protection of property against mob violence. The Ohio State Journal gives the following report of what transpired on that occasion.

Mr. Gallagher said, upon consideration, he thought there was no necessity for the passage of this bill. Property was protected under the common law; and damages had been recovered under it.

Mr. Drake said he thought the gentleman from Hamilton mistaken in the statement,

that damages could be recovered under the common law. In Maryland, decisions had been made, which he presumed were referred to by the gentleman; but Maryland had a statute law on the subject. Without committing himself for this bill, he must say he was in favor of some law of the kind.

Mr. Flinn objected to the principle of the bill.

It was making cities and towns *insure* against calamities of the kind referred to. With equally as much propriety, should we make them insurers against fire and the lightning. It inflicted punishment upon the innocent, for evils which they could not prevent.

It was an invitation to men to provoke popular violence. He would go as far as the further in strengthening the police, but he was opposed to the adoption of laws recognizing this principle.

Mr. Irwin took opposite grounds from the gentleman last up.

This bill made all citizens of towns and cities directly interested in the preservation of order. It appealed to their interest to lend efficient aid to the authorities in suppressing disturbances and riots. Since a similar law was passed in Maryland, we have heard of no disturbances and riots in Baltimore. The effect had been most salutary.

Mr. Flinn moved to amend by making towns and cities responsible for damages by fire, earthquake and whirlwind—lost.

Mr. Flinn said the Legislature had no power to pass such a law. It was impudent legislation which caused the outbreaks of popular violence, in nine cases out of ten. The riots in Cincinnati, induced by the corrupt practices of banks, had a better effect in regulating the currency, than all the legislation on that subject. The remedy for these outbreaks was to correct our corrupt legislation.

Mr. Johnson did not know but he should move to amend the bill, by excluding Cincinnati from its operation. He was also inclined to introduce a bill, to repeal all laws so far as they relate to that city. This thing of being restrained by law was "unconstitutional" clearly, besides being unpleasant.

The gentleman thought this bill would tax the innocent. On the same principle the expense of the establishment of jails and the support of the police and criminal courts, was taxing, or as the gentleman would say, "punishing" the innocent.

Mr. Olds moved to amend by excepting Banks and Banking institutions from the protection of the law—lost.

Mr. Mason thought the bill sufficiently guarded. The principle upon which it was founded was that of prevention. If the bill passed he believed mobs would not be frequent in our history.

Mr. Olds moved to amend the bill by amending its provisions to organized townships.

Mr. Drake said the principle involved was not that of insurance. We proceeded on the principle that the citizens of cities and towns could prevent the destruction of property by mobs. This was a new move in our legislation, and we should apply the laws to the great evil first. If it operated well we might extend it. He went still further. He would strike out that portion which made the recovery of damages depend upon the conduct of the persons aggrieved. We should not set up the mob to judge whether the conduct of individuals was proper or improper. On the same principle the populace might punish the horse thief and hang the murderer.

Mr. Reemlin contended that the principle recognized in this bill, would require us to remunerate all sufferers from crime of every description.

[Mr. Drake remarked that the principle should be recognized, if the gentleman could suppose a case in which the public could prevent the crime.]

Mr. R. continued. He thought the law might have the effect of calling out citizens, when they suspected the rising of a mob, in order to prevent it, but it would be impossible to collect damages, under the loose provision of the law.

Several other members spoke on the subject.

Mr. Flinn moved to amend by excepting Cincinnati—lost.

Mr. Gallagher moved to amend so as to provide, that if any person be killed during riot, the Mayor and Common Council shall be hanged—lost.

On motion of Mr. Moulton the committee rose, and the bill was referred to the committee on the Judiciary, with instructions (proposed by Mr. Remelin) to inquire into the expediency of providing that no Court of the State shall entertain any suit against any city &c., unless it shall be proven that the owner of the property destroyed, had used all diligence in obtaining legal redress of the persons composing the riot.

December 17th.—Petitions were presented in the SENATE, asking for a law for the promotion of Agriculture, in which subject the people appear to be much interested if we may judge by the number of petitions they send to the Senate and House; included in the same petition was a request that a State Board of Agriculture be established, and the formation of County Societies encouraged.

One asking for the passage of a law to more effectually protect religious societies from disturbance was read and referred, and the usual number and varieties of petitions which we have heretofore noted were presented and referred, after which came the usual uninteresting reports from Standing and Select Committees. A motion was made and lost, that the Senate adjourn for the purpose of allowing its members to attend the Temperance Convention.

In the House, bills of incorporation for a Chapel, and an Insurance company were passed, then followed the usual deluge of petitions to tax dogs, build new equities, repeal the Black Laws, regulate the Liquor system, prevent horse racing, &c. were read, and appropriately referred. A petition from Ashland Co. asked for the amendment of the Resurrection Laws, making *exhumation* a penal offence. One from the Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends asked for the repeal of the Black Laws. A petition was presented, (10 ft. in length) from 500 citizens of Montgomery county, for a law empowering the legal voters of every ward and

township in the state, to prohibit the retail of ardent spirits. A memorial from the Ohio and Indiana Society of Friends asking for a repeal of the Black Laws was presented by the Speaker.

Mr. Bell moved it be not received on the ground, upon which a similar petition was refused last year, viz: that it was from other than citizens of the State.

Mr. Flinn explained, that the society from which the petition emanated, was composed of citizens of Ohio, as well as Indiana, and that these societies uniformly acted as a society, in their yearly meetings.

After some conversation, the petition was received by a vote of 49 to 29.

We find the following in the State Journal; the resolution was introduced by Mr. Gallagher.

Whereas, The employment of convicts, in the Ohio Penitentiary at various branches of mechanical labor, has seriously affected the interests of a large portion of the citizens of Ohio, engaged in mechanical pursuits, by giving to the State Government a monopoly of all the branches of mechanical industry, in which the convicts in said Penitentiary are employed, as also, tending to degrade the mechanic arts, working great wrong to the productive laborer; that portion of our citizens to whom more than to any other, our State is indebted for its past prosperity and present wealth and greatness; it being no sufficient argument in support of the Penitentiary system of labor, that it results in immediate pecuniary benefit to the State; for admitting the fact, it cannot also, be denied that its effect upon the mechanics of the State is unjust and unequal, and in this, directly antagonistic to the right spirit of republicanism; in view of these facts, and with the desire and intention that the tax and burthen of government shall fall alike upon all the citizens of Ohio, and that the honor and dignity of labor, may not be sullied or affected by a forced and legalized connexion with crime, therefore be it,

Resolved, That the committee on the Penitentiary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill, at as early a day as possible, abolishing the system of labor and contracting, now pursued under the rules and laws regulating the Ohio Penitentiary, having at the same time, care to violate no previous contract, nor in any way to interfere with individual rights.

Mr. Olds moved to amend by excepting Banks and Banking institutions at length.

Mr. Semmens said he was ready to meet this question at once, by a direct vote. He could not understand the propriety or justice of the proposition of the gentleman from Hamilton.

If he had a correct understanding of the matter, it amounted to this, that the convicts should be left without labor, and as a consequence, that instead of an income of \$20,000 to ease us, in a small degree, of the burthen of taxation, we shall be compelled to pay some \$50,000 more to support these convicts.

Now four fifths or thereabouts, of the taxes of the State are paid by the agricultural class, and a small proportion only by the mechanics. Shall we levy this additional burthen on the already burthened agriculturist? Standing here a farmer himself, and representing a large farming district, he could not consent. The gentleman from H. assumes that convict labor degrades free labor. Wise legislators in all the other States, and in this State, have taken a different view of this subject. It has always been thought proper to employ convicts at hard labor. He had never felt it dishon

POETRY.

From the Free State Rally.
TO MASSACHUSETTS.

What if no beacon-blazes
On distant hill-tops shine:
From all thy own high places,
Give Heaven the light of thine!
What if, unthrilled, unmoving,
The Statesman stands apart,
And comes no warm approving
From Mammom's crowded mart!

Still let the land be shaken,
By a summons of thine own;
By all save Truth forsaken,
Why stand with that alone?
Shrink not from strife unequal,
With the best is always hope;
And ever in the sequel,
God holds the right side up!

But, when with thine uniting,
Come voices long and loud,
And far off hills are writing
They fire-words on the cloud;
When from Penobscot's fountains
A deep response is heard,
And across the Western mountains
Rolls back thy rallying word;

Shall thy line of battle falter,
Whit'st its allies just in view?
Oh, by hearth and holy altar,
My Father-land, be true!
Fling abroad thy scrolls of Freedom,
Spend them onward far and fast;
Over hill and valley, speed them,
Like the Sybil's on the blast!

Lo! the Empire State is shaking
The shackles from her hand;
With the rugged North is waking
The level sunset land!
On they come—the free battalions,
East and West and North, they come,
And the heart-beat of the millions
Is the beat of Freedom's drum.

To the tyrant's plot no favor,
No heed to place-fed knaves,
Bar and bolt the door forever
Against the land of SLAVES!
Hear it, Mother Earth, and hear it
The Heavens above us spread,
The land is roused—its spirit
Was sleeping, but not dead!

TRUE REST.

Sweat is the pleasure,
Itself cannot spoil!
Is not true leisure
One with true toil?

Thou that wouldst taste it,
Still do thy best;
Use it, not waste it,
Else 'tis no rest.

Wouldst behold beauty
Near theel all round?
Only hath duty
Such a sight found.

Rest is not quitting
The busy career;
Rest is the fitting
Of self to its sphere.

'Tis the brook's motion,
Clear without, strife,
Fleeting to ocean
After its life.

Deeper devotion
Nowhere hath knelt
Fuller emotion
Heart never felt.

'Tis loving and serving
The highest and best!
'Tis onward! unswerving,
And that is true rest.

MISCELLANEOUS.

INSTINCT OF CHILDHOOD.

BY JOHN NEAL.

A beautiful child stood near a large open window. The window was completely overshadowed by wild grape and blossoming honey-suckles, and the drooping branches of a prodigious elm—the largest and handsomest you ever saw. The child was leaning forward with half-open mouth and thoughtful eyes, looking into the firmament of green leaves forever at play, that appeared to overhang the whole neighborhood; and her loose bright hair, as it broke away in the cheerful morning wind, glittered like stray sunshine among the branches and blossoms.

Just underneath her feet, and almost within reach of her little hand, swung a large and prettily covered bird cage, all open to the sky! The broad plentiful grape leaves lay upon it in heaps—the morning wind blew pleasantly through it, making the very music that birds and children love best—and the delicate branches of the drooping elm swept over it—and the glow of blossoming herbage round about fell with a sort of shadowy lustre upon the basin of bright water, and the floor of glittering sand within the cage.

"Well, if ever!" said the child; and then she stooped and pulled away the trailing branches and looked into the cage; and then her lips began to tremble, and her soft eyes filled with tears.

Within the cage was the mother bird, flitting and whistling—not cheerfully, but mournfully—and beating herself to death against the delicate wires; and three little bits of birds watching her, open-mouthed, and trying to follow her from perch to perch, as she opened and shut her golden wings, like sudden flashes of sunshine, and darted either and thither, as if hunted by some invisible thing—or by a cat foraging in the arbor.

"There, now! there you go again! you foolish thing, you! Why what is the matter?"

I should be ashamed of myself! I should so! Hav'n't we bought the prettiest cage in the world for you? Hav'n't you had enough to eat, and the best that could be had for love or money—sponge cake—loaf sugar, and all sorts of seeds? Didn't father put up a nest with his own hands; and hav'n't I watched over you! You ungrateful little thing! till the eggs you put there had all turned to birds, no bigger than grasshoppers, and so noisy—oh, you can't think! Just look at the beautiful clear water there—and the clean white sand—where do you think you could find such water as that, or such a pretty glass dish, or such beautiful bright sand, if we were to take you at your word, and let you out, with that little nest full of young ones, to shift for themselves, hey?"

The door opened, and a tall benevolent looking man stepped up to her side.

"Oh, father, I'm so glad you're come.—What do you think is the matter with poor little birdy?"

The father looked down among the grass and shrubbery, and up into the top branches, and then into the cage—the countenance of the poor girl growing more and more pensive and more sorrowful every moment.

"Well, father—what is it? does it see anything?"

"No my love, nothing to frighten her; but where is the father bird?"

"He's in the other cage. He made such a to-do when the birds began to chirp this morning, that I was obliged to let him out; and brother Bobby, he frightened him into the cage and carried him off."

"Was that right, my love?"

"Why not, father? He wouldnt be quiet you know; and what was I to do?"

"But, Moggy, dear, these little birds may want their father to help to feed them; the poor mother bird may want him to take care of them, or sing to her?"

"Or, perhaps, to show them how to fly, father?"

"Yes, dear. And to separate them just now—how would you like to have me carried off, and put into another house, leaving no one at home but your mother to watch over you and the rest of my little birds?"

The child grew more thoughtful. She looked up into her father's face, and appeared as if more than half disposed to ask a question which might be little out of place; but she forbore, and after musing a few moments, went back to the original subject:

"But father, what can be the matter with the poor thing? you see how she is flying about, and the little ones trying to follow her, and tumbling upon their noses, and toddling about as if they were tipsy, and couldn't see straight."

"I am afraid she is getting discontented."

"Discontented! How can that be, father? Hasn't she her little ones about her, and every thing on earth she can wish, and then, you know, she never used to be so before?"

"When her mate was with her, perhaps?"

"Yes, father; and yet now I think of it, the moment these little witches began to peep-peep, and tumble about so funny, the father and mother began to fly about in the cage, as if they were crazy. What can be the reason? The water, you see, is cool and clear; the sand bright; they are out in the open air, with all the green leaves blowing about them; their cage has been scoured with soap and sand; the fountain filled; and the seed box—and—and—I declare I cannot think what ails them."

"My love, may it not be the very things you speak of? Things which you think ought to make them happy, are the very cause of all their trouble, you see. The father and mother are separated. How can they teach their young to fly in the cage? How teach them to provide for themselves?"

"But father—dear father!" laying her little hand on the spring of the cage door, "dear father! would you?"

"And why not, my dear child?" and the father's eyes filled with tears, and he stooped down and kissed the bright face upturned to his, and glowing as if illuminated with inward sunshine. "Why not?"

"I was only thinking, father, if I should let them out, who will feed them?"

"Who feeds the young ravens, dear? Who feeds the ten thousand little birds that are flying about us now?"

"True, father; but they have never been imprisoned, you know, and have already learned to take care of themselves."

The father looked up and smiled.

"Worthy of profound consideration, my dear; I admit your plea; but have a care lest you overrate the danger and the difficulty, in your unwillingness to part with your beautiful little birds."

"Father!" and the little hand pressed upon the spring, and the door flew open—wide open!

"Stay my child! What you do must be done thoughtfully, conscientiously, so that you may be satisfied with yourself hereafter, and allow me to hear all your objections."

"I was thinking, father, about the cold rains, and the long winters, and how the poor little birds that have been so long confined would never be able to find place to sleep in, or water to wash in, or seeds for their little ones."

"In our climate, my love, the winters are very short; and the rainy season itself does not drive the birds away; and then, you know birds always follow the sun; if our climate is too cold for them, they have only to go farther south. But in a word, my love, you are to do as you would be done by. As you would not like to have me separated from your mother and you, as you would not like to be imprisoned for life, though you cage were crammed with loaf sugar and sponge cake—as you?"

"That'll do father! that's enough! Brother Bobby! hither Bobby! bring the little cage with you; there's a dear!"

Brother Bobby sang out in reply; and after a moment or two of anxious inquiry, appeared at the window with a little cage. The prison doors were opened; the father bird escaped; the mother bird immediately followed, with a cry of joy; and then came back and told her little ones forth among the bright green leaves. The children clapped their hands in an ecstasy, and the father fell upon their necks and kissed them; and the mother,

who sat by, sobbed over them both for a whole hour, as if her heart would break; and told her neighbors with tears in her eyes.

* * * * *

"The ungrateful busy! What! after all that we have done for her; giving her the best room that we could spare; feeding her from our own table; clothing her from our own wardrobe; giving her the handsomest and shrewdest fellow for a husband within twenty miles of us; allowing them to live together till a child is born; and now, because we have thought proper to send him away for a while, where he may earn his keep—now, forsooth! we are to find my lady discontented with her situation!"

"Dear father!"

"Hush, child!"

"Ay, discontented—that's the word—actually dissatisfied with her condition! the jade! with the best of every thing to make her happy—comforts and luxuries she could never dream of obtaining if she were free to-morrow—and always contented; never presuming to be discontented till now."

"And what does she complain of father?"

"Why, my dear child, the unreasonable thing complains just because we have sent her husband away to the other plantation for a few months; he was idle here, and might have grown discontented, too, if we had not packed him off. And then, instead of being happier, and more thankful—more thankful to her heavenly Father, for the gift of a man child, Martha tells me that she found hercrying over it calling it a little slave, and wished the Lord would take it away from her—the ungrateful wench! when the death of that child would be two hundred dollars out of my pocket—ever cent of it!"

"After all we have done for her too!" sighed the mother.

"I declare I have no patience with the jade!" continued the father.

"Father—dear father!"

"Be quiet, Moggy! don't tease me now." "But, father!" and, as she spoke, the child ran up to her father and drew him to the window, and threw back her sun-shining tresses, and looked up into his eyes with the face of an angel, and pointed to the cage as it still hung at the window, with the door wide open!

The father understood her, and colored to the eyes; and then, as if half ashamed of the weakness, bent over and kissed her forehead—smoothed down her silky hair—and told her she was a child now, and must not talk about such matters till she had grown older.

"Why not, father?"

"Why not? Why bless your little heart!—Suppose I were silly enough to open my doors and turn her adrift, with her child at her breast, what would become of her? Who would take care of her who feed her?"

"Who feeds the ravens, father? Who takes care of all the white mothers, and all the white babes we see?"

"Yes, child—but then—I know what you are thinking of; but then—there's a mighty difference, let me tell you, between a slave mother and a white mother—between a slave child and a white child."

"Yes, father."

Don't interrupt me. You drive every thing out of my head. What was I going to say? Oh! ah! that in our long winters and cold rains, these poor things who have been brot up in our houses, and who know nothing about the anxieties of life, and have never learned to take care of themselves—and—

"Yes, father; but couldn't they follow the sun, too? or go farther South?"

"And why not be happy here?"

"But, father—dear father! How can they teach their little ones to fly in a cage?"

"Child, you are getting troublesome!"

"And how teach their young to provide for themselves, father?"

"Put the little imp to bed, directly: do you hear?"

"Good night, father! Good night, mother! Do as you would be done by."

BLANKETS.

To be read on a cold night in December.

BY "OLD HUMPHREY."

Help me my young friends! Help me, for the poor stand in need of comfort: let us try to do them a kindness.

How the easements rattle! and hark how the bitter, biting blast whistles among the trees! It is very cold, and will soon be colder. I could shiver at the thought of winter, when the icicles hang upon the water-butt, when the snow lies deep upon the ground, and the cold, cold wind seems to freeze the heart as well as the finger ends.

Yet, after all, the darkest night, the bitterest blast, and the rudest storm confer some benefit, for they make us thankful for the roof that covers us, the fire that warms us, and for the grateful influence of a comfortable bed.

On the luxury of a good, thick, warm pair of blankets, when the wintry blast roars in the chimney, while the featherly flakes of snow are flying abroad, and the sharp hail paters against the window panes!

Did you ever travel a hundred miles on the outside of a coach on a sharp frosty night; your eyes stiffened, your face smarting, and your body half-frozen! Did you ever keep watch in December in the open air, till the more than midnight blast had pinched all your features into sharpness; till your feet were cold as a stone, and the very stars appeared as if frozen to the sky? If you have never borne these things, I have; but what are they compared with the trials that some people have to endure.

Who can tell the sufferings of thousands of poor people in winter, from the want of warm bed clothes! and who can describe the comfort that a pair or two of blankets communicate to a destitute family? How often have I seen the wretched children of a wretched habitation, huddling together on the floor, beneath a ragged great-coat, or flimsy petticoat, striving to derive that warmth from each other which their scanty covering failed to supply!

In many places, benevolent persons give or lend blankets to the poor, and thus confer a benefit, the value of which can hardly be told. May they be abundantly repaid by the grace of that Savior who said, when speaking of

kindness done to his disciples, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Think of these things now, for it will be no use to reflect on them in summer. Charity is never so cordial as when it feels the misery it relieves; while you feel the cold, then do something to protect others from the inclemency of the season. It is enough to be ill-fed, and ill-clothed, and to sit beside a dying fire without a handful of fuel to revive it; but after that to pass the night without a blanket for a covering, must indeed be terrible.

See in the sharpest night the poor old man, over whose head threescore and ten winters have rolled, climbing with difficulty his narrow staircase, to creep beneath his thin ragged coverlet! See the aged widow, once full in the lap of luxury, but now girt around with trials, in fastings often, in cold, and almost nakedness, worn by poverty to the very bones, stretching her cramped limbs upon her bundle of straw! Fancy—but why fancy what you know to be true?—these poor, aged, miserable beings have to shiver through the live-long night, when a blanket would gird them round with comfort. I could weep at such miseries as these,—miseries which so small an effort might relieve. The table-crumb of the rich would make a banquet for the poor, and the spare remnants of their eating would defend them from the cold.

Come, come, reader! you are not without some feeling of pity and affection for your fellow creatures. Be not satisfied in wishing them well; let something be done for their welfare.

If there be a heart within you, if you have a soul that ever offered up an expression of thanksgiving for the manifold mercies which your heavenly Father has bestowed upon you, then sympathize with the wretched, and relieve, according to your ability, the wants of the destitute. Let me beseech you to do something this very winter towards enabling some poor, aged, helpless, or friendless person, who is slenderly provided for, to purchase a blanket. You will not sleep the less comfortably, when you reflect that some shivering wretch has been, by your assistance, enabled to pass the wintry nights in comfort.

It is not a great thing that is required; do what you can; but do something. Let me not plead in vain; and shame befall me if I neglect myself the thing that I recommend to you to perform.

Did you ever lie snug and warm in bleak

December, the bed-clothes drawn close round your neck, and your nightcap pulled over your ears, listening to the midnight blast, and exulting in the grateful glow of your delightful snugger? I know you have, and I trust, too, that the very reading of these remarks will affect your hearts, and dispose you to some "gentle deed of charity" towards those who are destitute of such an enjoyment.

Now, then, while the subject is before you, while you look round on your manifold comforts, while you feel the nipping and frosty air, resolve, aye, and act, in a way that will bless others, and the blessings of the widow and the fatherless, the aged and infirm, the destitute, and those ready to perish, shall rest upon you.